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AN
ESSAY
UPON THE
Cultivation of the Lands,
AND
IMPROVEMENTS of the REVENUES,
OF
BENGAL.

By HENRY PATTULLO, Esq;

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TO THE HONOURABLE
THE DIRECTORS
OF THE
COMPANY OF MERCHANTS
TRADING TO THE EAST-INDIES,

THE FOLLOWING ESSAY CONCERNING

B E N G A L

IS ADDRESSED,

WITH DUE REGARD,

BY THEIR MOST OBEDIENT,

AND MOST HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

TO THE HONORABLE

THE DIRECTORS

OF THE

COMPANY OF MERCHANTS

TRADING TO THE EAST INDIES

THE HONORABLE EAST INDIES COMPANY



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To Mr James Stuart Barron

from The Author



A N
E S S A Y

Upon CULTIVATING and IMPROVING

B E N G A L.

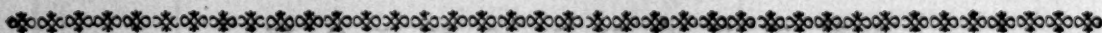
I N T R O D U C T I O N.

AT a time that the interesting object of Bengal occupies the great council of the nation, and that the riches and revenue, even the preservation and existence of that extensive province seem to depend upon agriculture; may a person, who during many years has made the renting and culture of lands, both in Britain and in foreign countries, the particular objects of his observation, be permitted to offer some ideas, upon a matter of so much importance to this kingdom? May he likewise be allowed to say, that they were put in writing, solely to satisfy private curiosity, and are now submitted to the public, expressly at the request of friends, who are willing to hope they may do good.

Many plans have appeared for regulating and conducting that valuable acquisition: but that of Mr. Dow seems, in many respects, to be the most judicious and reasonable. And whether it may or may not be adopted, there appears an evident necessity that some rule should be established and followed, for managing a cultivation, which so greatly merits to be encouraged and supported. For, the intire desolation and ruin of these fertile and very improvable lands seem to impend, and cannot fail to be the unavoidable consequence of the present manner of managing them.

Mr. Dow is greatly in the right in recommending the disposal of these lands in perpetual property; for, no measures can so effectually ensure good culture and improvements, as the assured possession in perpetuity. The experience of all ages and countries confirms that truth. Even the French, who are far from being the clearest-sighted in political œconomy, are at last so sensible of it, that to supply the want of property in farmers, they have of late authorized and encouraged long leases; whereas, by a most unaccountable error and ignorance, leases were formerly allowed only to be given during nine years. Yet, even the length of those leases now given, is already found, by no means, to answer the intention. Neither in fact can they possibly answer the natural and invariable good effects of property.

The calculations of the above mentioned author, with regard to the advantages which would naturally arise from disposing of the lands in property, are likewise very moderate; for they would without doubt be much greater than he seems willing to mention. Let us therefore view these advantages in the light they may very justly bear.



EXTENT of the LANDS.

ALL authors agree, and the chart of the country undeniably shews, that the extent of Bengal and Behar is 600 miles by 300, which is not a great deal inferior to the dimensions of the kingdom of France.

In that kingdom it is computed upon the most exact enquiries and observations, that only one third part of the extent is cultivated, in corns, in vines, and other annual productions. That another third part consists in woods, forrests, large commons, and in vague pasture lands of small value. And the remaining third is considered to consist in mountains, morasses, with other grounds which cannot be cultivated, also in what is taken up by cities, towns, villages, with high roads, lakes, brooks, and rivers. Perhaps likewise there would be no great error in supposing the territorial divisions in Britain to bear to each other in much about the same proportions.

From which examples we may reasonably suppose, that the extent of Bengal and Behar may be divided much in the same manner. Nor can there possibly
be

be any great error in that supposition; yet as they consist of a remarkably extensive plain, no such allowance need be given for mountains and grounds which cannot be cultivated: but a larger allowance may be given for rivers and extents in waters. It may therefore, perhaps, be reasonable to suppose, that one third part consists in rivers, brooks, lakes, and canals; with cities towns, villages, and high roads: that another third part consists in lands which are actually in culture, and that the remaining third consists at present in woods, forests, and in lands of different kinds, which frequent disturbances have rendered uncultivated: all which last third part may again be brought into cultivation, and no doubt will in time be so, provided proper measures are taken.

Let us now proceed upon the supposition, which seems to be very well founded, that Bengal and Behar contains 600 miles by 300. The geographical mile is universally considered, to consist of one thousand geometrical paces, of five feet each: the original name of mile having taken its rise from the *Mille Passus*, of the Romans; consequently every square mile contains twenty five millions of square feet.

Again, the measure by which lands are rented there, is said by another late author, to be the bega, consisting of sixteen thousand square feet; therefore every square mile contains 1560 begas, and somewhat more. And as the whole extent of Bengal, by the above computation, contains one hundred and eighty thousand square miles, it of consequence contains above two hundred and eighty millions of begas: one third whereof we have with reasonable grounds, considered in actual culture. There are accordingly above ninety millions of begas, actually in condition to be cultivated in Bengal. It may at the same time be observed, that these calculations are rather below than above, in order to avoid both fractions and objections. So large a field may well bear sufficient allowances.

It is observed by Mr. Dow, that the lands and revenues, which are presently possessed in consequence of former grants of jagueerdars, and other hereditary settlements, and from which the company at present draws no rents, may amount to one fifth part of all the lands which are in culture. But to give full allowance and to prevent objections, let us suppose that these grants, together with the pottas, which he also mentions, may amount to a full third part of all the cultivated lands, yet, even in that case, when a third of the ninety millions of

of begas shall be deducted, there still remains sixty millions of begas, which actually are, or may be rented out by the company, or their agents. Thus far, with regard to the extent, let us now view the rents.



RENTS of LANDS.

WHAT has been premised leads us naturally to calculations, and computations of another kind. One of the authors already mentioned, Mr. Bolts, informs us, that the cultivated lands are lett out in general, to the Ryots, or lower labourers, at the rent of three rupees, even to fifteen rupees the bega, and some much higher, according to the better or worse quality of soil, and to the nature and value of the productions which it is in condition to yield.

However prejudiced or partial, that author may by some people be supposed, yet surely in facts like these, which may be very well known by all who have been in Bengal, and which he could have no inducement either from prejudice or partiality to misrepresent, his authority should naturally seem to be unquestionable.

Yet, in whatever manner the mistake may have been occasioned, there evidently appears to be a mistake in citing for any rule these extremely high rents; for even at the lowest of the rents which Mr. Bolts mentions, of three rupees the bega, or twenty shillings an acre; the sixty millions of begas which we have with reasonable grounds computed to be actually rented out by the company, would yield a very great sum. No less than twenty two millions and a half of our money. And in fact, three rupees the bega, is too high for the general rent of lands in any country.

Beside, lest it may be imagined that we have exceeded in the supposed number of begas under cultivation, there is another rule to prove that there is certainly some mistake in these high rents, for the four millions of pounds, which is the highest that has ever been pretended to have been returned at any time to the treasury from these lands, would have been produced at three rupees the bega, by less than eleven millions of begas, which is not a twenty-fifth part of the extent we find these kingdoms contain. And is it not to be sup-

posed that either now or at any time, twenty-four parts out of twenty-five, have remained in those countries uncultivated.

Neither can it be supposed, that the profits and expences of the several subordinations of farmers, and different degrees of collectors of the rents, however high these profits and expences may at any time have been, could ever possibly have amounted to the immense difference we find between the four millions returned to the treasury, and the twenty-two millions and a half, which we find would arise from these lands, at three rupees the bega.

If we even should suppose the lands to be lett at a rupee and a half the bega, still it would be too high a general rent, and the sum arising from it too great: no less than eleven millions, two hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

We shall therefore, surely come nearest to probability and to truth, if we shall suppose these lands to be lett at a medium, for one rupee the bega, or about six and eight-pence an acre, which is a full, sufficient general rent in any country. Upon which computation the sixty millions of begas, would yield seven millions and a half of our money nett into the company's treasury. Which view of the matter may reasonably be presumed, to be very nearly what the nett returned rents might produce, by proper management. For, all authors agree, that from three to four millions has been, and might be raised nett, from these lands into the treasury, and that the great profits and expence in raising them, amount at least equal to the sum returned; therefore, when these great profits and expences shall be reduced, which we shall see afterwards may very easily be effectuated, it need be no surprise, that the sum of seven millions and a half, should be returned nett into the company's treasury, as we have computed.

Yet, let us illustrate still farther by comparison, that these computations are probably well founded. We have seen that the territorial extent of Bengal, is not far inferior to that of France; also that only one third part of the lands of France are cultivated: the general rent there, is likewise far from being so great as one rupee the bega, nor even near so high as rents in Britain; yet the rent paid nett to the proprietors, amounts one year with another, to 520 millions of livres, or about twenty-three millions of our money; which fact is well ascertained by the *vingtieme*, or twentieth part of these rents which

is annually returned into the treasury of the state, and amounts one year with another, to twenty-six millions of livres. It must however be acknowledged, that the revenues which the proprietors draw from their woods and forrests, are included. But on the other hand, it is well known, that there are great frauds and concealments in the declarations of the proprietors.

Perhaps likewise, that the nett rents which the proprietors in Britain draw from their lands, are not far inferior to those in France. For though the extant is less, the rents are higher; and though a twentieth part, or a shilling a pound is at present not near so much, yet every person knows that by the difference betwixt the valuation and real rents, many lands don't pay a shilling in the pound, and numbers not even a sixpence, when the land-tax is at four shillings on the pound.

As therefore the extent of Bengal is not much less than France, and evidently larger than Britain; that a rupee the bega, is rather higher than the general rents in either; it surely need be no surprize that the rents there should come nearer to a proportion with those of these two kingdoms; and that they should yield nett into the Company's treasury seven millions and a half, which is not a third part of what we have seen is raised by the rents in France, and very probably likewise in Britain. Neither is there any room to doubt, that by proper management, the land in Bengal might be made to yield as much as either. Thus we have seen what the lands may yield, and the disposal of them in property would confirm the solidity of the revenue.

Yet, it would by no means be prudent œconomy in the company, to raise the rents to the full height that might be in their power. The country would soon suffer by it, and their own interest greatly in the end.

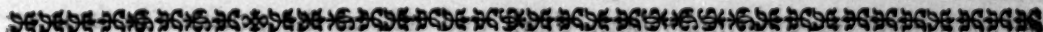
High rents never fail to raise the prices of provisions; those of labour must rise in proportion, and those of manufactures must of course follow. As therefore the Company's returns must at all times be in manufactures, and that the consumption and call for these, and the profits on them, always diminish as their prices advance; the bad consequences both to the Company and to that country are evident.

In Europe, where lands are the property of particulars, many are tempted to heighten their rents, from a desire of augmenting their revenues, without adverting that when that practice becomes general in any country, their expence must augment in proportion, by the advance of prices. And although the raising of rents too high, is against the real interest of every country, yet, no state can stop it. Whereas, in Bengal, the Company as sovereign, being sole proprietor, can regulate the rents by rules of reason.

The unwise practice of pushing up the rents every year in Bengal, has afforded a full demonstration of the destructive consequences, by having rendered many of these lands desolate, and made manufactures there, both scarcer and dearer.

The augmenting the quantity of productions, by cultivating waste lands, and by improving those which are in culture, are most laudable means of augmenting revenues. But to stretch rents beyond a reasonable medium, is always hurtful to a country.

The rents in Britain are now generally so high, that after some allowances for accidental scanty crops, and for the remarkable increase of riches, it is in vain to search for any other source of the present high prices.—For, if labourers and farmers did not draw a sufficiency from their industry to pay these high rents, their ruin would be inevitable; the plough would stop, the lands would lie waste, as in Bengal, and the consequences would be far from agreeable.



LANDS in PROPERTY.

NOTHING surely can so much excite the industry of mankind, as an absolute certainty, that they and theirs will not fail to enjoy the fruits of their labours. Thence property becomes an infallible prompter to industry, and improvements of all kinds; upon which principle, many in Britain purchase lands, which only yield 3 *per cent.* or 2 $\frac{1}{2}$, or less, though they well know that at interest, or even in the funds, they might draw four or five.

The minds of mankind we find are much the same in all countries, and actuated by the same views and desires. Thence, there can be no doubt that the acquisition of property will be as desirable to Asiatics, as it is to Europeans, when it can be done upon reasonable conditions. And the more so, that such acquisitions were never before practicable in those countries, and that by continual troubles they were far from being secure, even if they cou'd have been obtain'd.

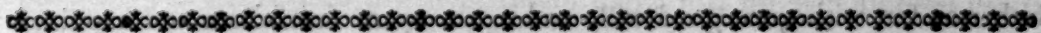
It has however been objected, even in this case, that the uncertainty of possession, would still be a discouragement to making advances; which-fully is groundless. For no assurance can be better founded than upon the authority of the British Parliament, as has been proposed. As that august legislative body will never fail at all events to support its own establishments, and the native Indians, as well as the Europeans in those parts, will soon be sensible that the security is unquestionable.

As therefore there can be no risque, and that the advance which should be expected might be so moderate, as in fact to be considered only as a fine or acknowledgment for a desirable possession to them and theirs; surely all who possess money in Bengal, would hasten to employ it in that way, even to emulation. As likewise, no such certainty is to be obtained in any other country of Asia, it would not fail to attract purchasers to Bengal from all quarters.

The company should still further consider, that a people who are debarred the acquisition and enjoyment of property, can never be at best, but a nation of slaves; timid and passive, without vigour, action, or industry, and who must very naturally both think and act, as the peasants in some of the interior provinces of France now actually do. "Why should we labour," say they, "when we are certain that our tax-masters wou'd always load us equal to our industry, and that we and our families must in all events for ever remain in poverty and indigence?" Such is their way of reasoning; and, giving up all hopes, they abandon themselves passively to misery and to despair. Subjects of that kind, however numerous, can never be of value to any state: whereas the power to acquire and to enjoy, rouses the mind to action; encourages industry and population, and forms valuable subjects to a state and nation.

Thence

Thence it becomes equally the interest of the sovereign, and of the subjects, that they should enjoy property. All wise governments confirm that truth; and none act otherwise but those despots, who, as Montesquieu expresses it, "cut down the tree to eat the fruit." Which to the reproach of Britain, has been too much the case in Bengal, ever since the British arms made that conquest. Yet the Company have it still in their power to transform fifteen or twenty millions of mankind, from desponding slaves into industrious subjects; and will thereby gain the double advantage of establishing a solid revenue, with reasonable advances to the bargain. Their fidelity and attachment would thereby likewise be for ever secured against all enemies, in defence of property. Whereas, to slaves it is entirely indifferent, who may become their masters; which indifference has always made conquests in India easily accomplished, and a change of masters frequent.



ADVANCES upon PROPERTY.

IT may be right to advert here, that in most of the countries of Europe, every purchaser of lands pays, beside the price, a very considerable fine or acknowledgement to the superior, and that all lands hold either of the sovereign, or of some great proprietor, who generally exact these fines with sufficient rigour, before they will confirm the acquisition, and acknowledge the new vassal. In France, these fines go by the name of *les lots de vente*, or casualties of sale; which in many provinces amount to a third, or a fourth, and rarely under a fifth of the agreed price; according to the custom of the province where the lands lie. Yet that additional burthen, although it generally amounts to four or five, or even six years rent of the estate, never discourages people from purchasing, as preferring property to all other means of placing money; and although far from being so agreeable in France as in Britain; or as it might be made in Bengal.

Again, It is well known that farmers all over Britain pay with pleasure for a long lease, a fine equal to two or three, often to four or five years rent of the object; whereof they soon draw the returns, by doubling their industry, from a certainty of long possession.

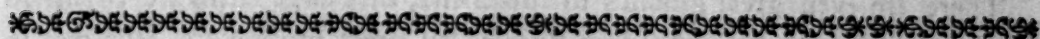
So in this case, there can be no doubt that all who possess money in India, will with pleasure pay in fine for a perpetual property, confirmed by the British legislature, and supported by the laws and power of Britain, as much at least as purchasers in France pay of fine to the superior, and farmers in Britain for a long lease.

Yet, not to exaggerate in any degree, nor to mention sums which might be thought too high, by supposing a fine of four, five, or six years rent, as we have seen is paid in Europe; let us only suppose, that every acquirer shall pay no more than the small fine of two years rent, as a pledge for the performance of his part of the engagement: which surely all would agree to with great pleasure. We have seen the rents of the whole lands will surely amount to seven millions and a half, whereof two years advance will be fifteen millions of our money; which the Company would soon draw, without any compulsion as hitherto, but with great good will, and to the great satisfaction and happiness of the natives; and by very easy and obvious measures.

It may probably be objected, "that, to bring all the lands of any country to sale, is impossible, and that buyers would not be found." The objection would also be well founded, providing the full value was to be demanded; but a fine only of two years rent for perpetual possession, is in fact so engaging, that there can be no room to doubt the whole lands in Bengal will find purchasers in a very short space, perhaps even in one year, either in money, or by reasonable security; providing the matter happens to be conducted with prudence; and buyers will appear faster than it will be possible to find people to serve them. The proposal will even appear so extraordinary favourable to a people intirely unaccustomed to property, that they will doubt of the reality; and there may be difficulty found in convincing them that it does not cover a snare. Their treatment hitherto, may with reason make them suspicious.

Neither would it be advancing too much to aver, that if the like advantageous proposals should happen to be made by all proprietors of lands in the three British kingdoms, nay, even by those of all Europe, to the farmers who presently possess them, they would be accepted of with raptures of joy; and the advances would be paid, or security presented without losing a moment,
 5 excepting

excepting perhaps such farmers as are already over-rented. It would even be a great advantage to the world, that proprietors would agree to it. Productions of all kinds would be much more abundant.



D I V I S I O N of P R O P E R T Y.

IT has been proposed very sensibly by Mr. Dow, that the extent of acquisitions should be limited, and that no person should be allowed to acquire above what yields in yearly rent fifty thousand rupees. For, every measure should be avoided, which may possibly raise up rich men in Bengal, who might in time find means to oppress those who are poorer, and the more so, that it is by the prosperity and industry of the lower classes only, that the manufactures can be carried on to the necessary extent. Therefore the division of property should be regulated as near to an equality as circumstances will admit. In consequence, perhaps the rent of twenty five thousand rupees may be a sufficient allowance for any one man to acquire. For, as the general rent has been calculated at one rupee the bega; this would be twenty five thousand begas, or eight to nine thousand acres; or about sixteen square miles. And there are many estates both in South and North Britain, of no larger extent, which yield a very considerable revenue to the proprietor. The division of property in many hands augments the prosperity of any country. It has been the source even of the greatness and glory which Great Britain has acquired. Numbers of particular examples might also be given in all countries; but one from France may suffice.

A farm in the parks of Marly, consisting of 500 acres, is lett to the farmer at five thousand livres; which being ten livres the acre, is a great rent in that country, and is only so high by being in the King's domain, where a farmer pays no taxes. On the other hand, all the *payfans* in the populous adjoining village of Marly, possess only among them a like number of 500 acres in property, upon paying a quit rent to the King as superior. But, they pay beside from their industry, above sixty thousand livres of yearly taxes to the state, which is more than twelve times the value of what the farmer pays for an equal quantity

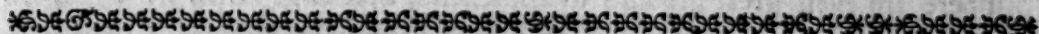
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quantity of equally good ground. Also, while the farm is conducted by a few unmarried servants, the *paysans* in the village continually augment the population, by rearing up numbers of children in useful labour.

There are even great grounds to apprehend, that large farms are by far too much adopted and encouraged in Britain, by great proprietors, who may in many cases find advantage in them. But they are a real and evident loss to the state, both in point of revenue and population; even also in quantity of productions. For it is not possible that any one man, however industrious, can manage a great extent of ground to the same advantage that a number of different families would. For all which reasons large extents of ground in any one hand, should be avoided with due attention in Bengal.



SUBDIVISION of PROPERTY.

MR. Dow's proposal, that large extents of property should be subdivided among heirs, is also very prudent: for these subdivisions always engage a greater number of hands in industry and labour. Yet care should be taken from the beginning that these subdivisions be not allowed to become too small, whence the same inconveniencies would soon arise which have happen'd in France. Where, in the fields of villages, they are generally become no larger than an acre, often less, in any one field; which prevents all useful improvements, and gives great trouble in access to cultivation. Therefore, when the subdivisions shall have become so small as fifty begas, they should not be allowed to go lower: which being about eighteen acres, is a reasonable field for inclosure, and should be kept entire. And upon the death of a possessor, where the heirs are more than one, it may be brought to sale, and the price divided among them.

This last remark may appear trifling. But nothing can be so, which establishes good order in so extensive dominions. And, in that respect, the following proposal will also prove of great utility.

MAGAZINES to prevent SCARCITIES.

WE see by the history of Hindostan, that no country has in all ages been more subject to scarcities, and even to famine, of which there has been a recent, and a very fatal instance in Bengal. It therefore becomes prudent, and even a duty in every government to guard against the greatest of all losses to a state, that of lessening the number of subjects, both by death and by desertion. And the means in this case are easy.

In all countries of Europe, beside the rent of the lands, a tenth part of the productions is set aside, and collected either in kind or by composition, for the subsistence of churchmen, or for the poor. In Britain the poor rates alone amount in many places to more than a tenth of the productions, although the tythes are paid beside. But in this case the tythes would fully answer the intention.

Therefore, besides the quit-rents to the state, or company, a tenth part of all productions might be collected and set aside for public purposes, and to prevent scarcities, and even famine. For churchmen in Bengal are out of the question. Those from Europe being supported by the company, and those of the country by their respective adherents; while the poor would in the end be the greatest gainers by this establishment.

The tythes of wheat and rice, which with due care may be preserved during many years, may be laid up in magazines to wait events; and the tythes of the other productions, as peas, barley, sugar canes, tobacco, opium, beetle, and others, may be sold annually, and their produce applied towards building magazines; also to pay collectors and managers: and the surplus may be applied towards making roads of communication, and other publick works in the respective districts.

Mr. Dow has proposed, and by all appearance very judiciously, that the kingdoms of Bengal and Bahar should be divided into five large provinces; each of these subdivided into ten chucklas, or counties, and these again, into an indefinite number of small districts, or pergunnahs.

In each of these pergunnahs, magazines may be built for the yearly deposit of wheat and rice. The number to be in proportion to the extent of the pergunnah, placed in a manner that no magazine should be above twenty or at most twenty-four miles from each other, all as near the banks of some canal or navigable river as may be found possible, for the easy transport by water. By which means no farm could be at a greater distance than ten or twelve miles from a magazine; so that every farmer might easily deliver his own tythes at the nearest magazine by the labouring cattle of his farm.

These deposits of corn from their first institution, will be of great service to supply accidental deficiencies in any crop; but, if nothing of that kind should happen soon, these tythes of wheat and rice, may with due attention, and by magazines suited to the purpose, easily be preserved during twenty years, or longer if it were necessary. But there can be no need for accumulating more than twenty years tythes, which would be equal to two full crops, and fully sufficient together with the current crops, however scanty, to supply the country during the most unfavourable seasons; even if they should continue during several years.

Yet the tythes should never be discontinued, but regularly be delivered yearly, and after the expiration of twenty years, those which had been first delivered may be disposed of yearly and periodically by public sale, in proportion as fresh tythes come in to supply their place. Thus, two full years provision would at all times be in the magazines. It could not indeed be supposed, that in years of plenty, the sale of the old tythes would yield a great price; yet perhaps not inconsiderable, even only for cattle, and the produce applied to the publick works in the particular pergunnah where the magazines are established.

It may perhaps occur, that the objects to be sold yearly, might not afford sufficient funds to build magazines for the rice and wheat.

But there can be no need of building all at first; the plan and situations being once fixed, magazines for the first years tythes need only then be built, and additions made annually till the whole are compleated. Beside, the produce of these articles would, in all probability, yield equal to the value of the rice and wheat; and surely one half may build magazines for the other.

Further,

Further, the rents in no country are considered to exceed one third of the productions, and by the improvements which will soon happen in Bengal, the rents may in time perhaps not exceed a fourth or fifth; but allowing them a third, we find they would be seven millions and a half, the productions of course twenty two millions and an half, and the tythes of them two millions, two hundred and fifty thousand pounds; whereof the half would build many magazines. The tythes in France are known to be above six millions sterling, whereof we have supposed those in Bengal only to be about a third, and surely they would be more. Again, although the magazines were built within twenty miles of each other, the whole extent of Bengal and Behar would only require four hundred and fifty magazines; and allowing a thousand pounds for each, which is large, it would only require a like number of thousands, which the first crop we see would do much more than answer. Yet as at present one third of the lands can scarce possibly be in culture, a much less number would at first answer the end.

By these measures, all apprehensions of scarcity would for ever be removed; short crops might happen by unfavourable seasons, and no doubt would; but famines, and the fatal effects of them, could never happen. And these calamities being greatly dreaded in Asia, so prudent an establishment would not fail to attract people to settle in Bengal.

Establishments of magazines, are, however, no new thing in Hindostan: the greatest and wisest of the Mogul emperors well knew their utility, and established them there at different periods, altho' the instability of government soon after, always disconcerted their wise measures. Neither can they possibly, be judiciously established and supplied, but by a regular government, founded upon reasonable principles; as no doubt that of the company will soon become.

Magazines have likewise been thought of at all times, and by all wise governments. They are now regularly supplied in Holland, Hambourg, Switzerland, Rome, Naples, Genoa, Venice, and other States. They have even been often spoke of in Britain, as a prudent precaution; and were thought of so seriously in France, within these few years, when provisions have been dear in Europe, that nothing prevented the execution but want of funds: whereas, in this case, the funds present themselves naturally and evidently; providing the opportunity is not neglected in disposing of the lands.

It must however be allowed, that the advantages of magazines in European countries, have often been questioned, and not without some grounds. The first establishments and provision require so very great advances, that they become difficult; beside, as crops in any European country never fail intirely, the deficiencies may always be supplied by the surplus of some other countries, at a less or larger price; therefore famines can scarce ever happen. But crops in India have often failed for years together, and the deficiencies can by no means be easily supplied, excepting by magazines. Again, manufacturers and manufacturing countries, are always the first who feel the effects of scarcity; so, magazines can be no where so necessary as in Bengal.

Many people in Britain, who feel the full weight of tithes, do, no doubt, consider them a very heavy load; and in Britain, they really are so, where farmers pay very large poors rates, and other public burthens. Also in France, where farmers pay a personal *taylle* or tax, at least equal to the tithes, beside being loaded beyond measure by other public labours: whereas in Bengal, the quit-rent will be found very reasonable, and the tythes will be the only burthen; while prospects of property uninterrupted, will have more alluring charms, than can be easily conceived, but by a people who have always hitherto been the sport of revolutions, the foot-ball of fortune, and the prey of tyrants.

COLLECTION of RENTS.

BY the improvements which will infallibly be made, in consequence of established property; the rents, which have been proposed, will soon be found so moderate, that they may be considered in no other light, than as a reasonable land-tax for the support of government. They may therefore be raised and remitted into the treasury of the Company, much in the same manner as the land-tax in Britain.

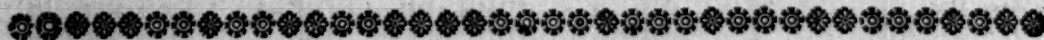
The security and protection of property will soon bring much wealth to light, which presently lies concealed: men of substance will be found numerous:

rous: credit and confidence will take place: open fair dealings will gain consideration: the mean deceits practised under arbitrary governments will be no more necessary, and every wise operation may then go on regularly and naturally. Then, it will be easy to appoint some of the largest possessors of lands, of the best reputation in every pergunnah, as commissioners to direct and answer, for the raising of the whole rents of that pergunnah where their property lies, upon the same plan as the Commissioners of the land-tax in Britain. They may appoint their own collector, upon his finding security; who may open an office in the chief town of that particular pergunnah, where all the rents of it may be received, and thence remitted by him to the Company's treasury, as they shall direct: by which measures the whole revenues may be regularly returned, without any expence to the Company; for, the collectors will be paid by the proprietors of lands, at a moderate fixed rate in proportion to their rents, and the honour of the Company's confidence will be a sufficient recompence to the commissioners. Neither can there be any doubt of the punctuality of payments, as the then improved lands of every pergunnah, will be an infallible security for the rents of it, as the lands in Britain and in France now are for the land-tax.

Upon a plan of that kind, the principal proprietors of lands in Normandy, have repeatedly offered to the Ministry of France, to return to the treasury double the sum which is actually received there from that province, in all kinds of taxes; providing they might be allowed to act themselves, as commissioners for raising it. But the Ministry apprehending such a condescension might in time set limits to their arbitrary measures, always declined this advantageous proposal, though it would make a difference of two to three millions sterling yearly. But the Company can in this case have no such motives: they on the contrary, have every laudable motive to make just and reasonable measures their steady rule.

These same commissioners may likewise be charged with the directions of the tythes in their respective pergunnahs; they may appoint collectors and managers, who shall find security; they may direct building the magazines, lodging there the wheat and rice, and may dispose of the articles of sale; when after paying all expences, they may apply the remains to the most necessary public works in the pergunnah, as the Company shall direct; returning always a

distinct annual account to the Company, of the whole management. Thus, magazines may be built, supplied, and conducted; scarcities and famines prevented; public works carried on through all the provinces, as well as the revenues returned; all at very little trouble to the Company, and at no expence.



UNCULTIVATED LANDS.

HITHERTO we have only had in view the management of the lands which are actually in cultivation. But now, another great field opens, of the lands which lie uncultivated. In time, no doubt, they may be brought upon the same footing with the others; but that period being at some distance, proper measures must be made use of to bring them to that point.

We have already computed, that a full third part of the extent of Bengal and Behar, lies in a neglected state, without cultivation; and that supposition seems to be well founded. We have also found by the dimensions of these two kingdoms, that these waste lands should contain ninety millions of begas. And as there can be no jagiers or other hereditary incumbrances upon lands which are actually of no value, the whole is intirely at the Company's disposal, and is in fact, an object of so great importance, that all prudent measures should be taken in that respect.

Yet, the cutting of woods, the clearing of grounds, the draining of morasses, and the bringing of waste lands into proper culture is so arduous a task, and the prospect of returns so distant, that very few will be found inclined to undertake it, as long as they can find it in their power to acquire lands already in culture, at the moderate advance of two years rent.

Even in the cultivated countries of Europe: in France for example; numbers of great proprietors of waste lands offer and give them with great pleasure during ten years without rent. And the Government for encouragement, have by an edict exempted them from all taxes during twenty years,

years, with naturalization, and even allowances in point of religion to all foreigners, who will employ themselves in that way; and the clergy pass from their tythes: yet very few farmers will undertake them.

It must indeed be allowed, that in France good farmers are very rare; and any possessed of sufficient funds for arduous undertakings, still rarer. Beside, the constitution of government, with the arbitrary way of raising the taxes, are so unfavourable to culture, that the best farmers, even in the best farms are greatly harassed, and often ruined by oppression: whereas in Bengal, the regulations which have been proposed, and an undisturbed enjoyment, will give life and spirit to all undertakings. The soil also being better, and the climate more favourable to vegetation, the returns will be quicker, and the enjoyment less distant; therefore, by wise measures, no doubt remains that the whole may be well cultivated in a short time.

Yet the first expence will be so considerable, that no great advances can be expected from the acquirers; therefore, only a half, or even one third of a rupee the bega, may be exacted as a pledge for performance of the engagement, whereof the conditions may be as follows:

That the first year be allowed them to build habitations, and to provide seed, cattle, and instruments of labour; that the second year, they cultivate one eighth part of their respective undertakings; the third year, an eighth part more, and regularly an eighth part every year, until the whole is cultivated, which will be in nine years*. And that if at any period, the acquirer shall fall short of his engagement, the lands he has undertaken may be put to public sale, and the price, after paying expences, may go towards indemnifying him; which conditions will be the sure means to prevent any person from undertaking a greater enterprize than he has funds and power to execute.

* It must be allowed, that the cultivation of the waste lands of America, and even in the West-India islands, does not advance quite so fast as has been supposed here: but the case is very different; those colonies are much in their infancy, they are far from being peopled; and by want of hands, the price of labour is extremely high, and culture of all kinds a very great expence. Whereas in Bengal the population is not only already great, but will augment daily by wise measures. Thence, hands are in great abundance: the price of labour is low: and every grain thrown in the ground grows without great pains in cultivation.

The

The tenth year a moderate rent may be exacted, such as the third of a rupee the bega, during three years; two thirds of a rupee during three years more, and a whole rupee for ever after, which being six and eight pence an acre, is a sufficient quittance rent in any country: for, it is but just that all labourers should have a comfortable enjoyment by their industry, otherwise they can never have courage to exert it.

Therefore, it needs be no matter of wonder, that the great oppressions which are at present practised there, with the imprudent way of letting the lands annually, have already had their natural effect, in laying many of the cultivated lands so soon waste and desolate; that the residing labourers have abandoned them, and that there is now a necessity of letting them much under their value to vagrants, as appears to be the case, and must always happen to be the consequence of such imprudent measures. The like measures have had the like effects in many of the interior provinces of France, where all the former residuary farmers have been ruined, and none can now be found in these parts, but such as present themselves with no other funds than scarcely cloaths to cover them. Yet, even to these, the proprietors are under a necessity to trust their farm, their seed, their cattle, and instruments of labour, and only draw for returns, a third of the productions in kind; which on these neglected lands is rarely a half, often not a third of those on regular farms. And few regular farms, or farmers, are to be found in that kingdom, but in such of the provinces where provincial states take place, who do their best to protect their farmers from oppression.

Such, and worse if possible, will soon be the infallible consequences, over all the provinces of Bengal, of the present destructive measures; and the Company can only find their real interest, by putting an effectual stop to these ruinous proceedings without loss of time, and by governing their people and lands with prudence, and with moderation.

But to return; although we have supposed that these new lands shall pay no rents during ten years, yet as the undertakers will be fully as liable as others, to the bad effects of unfavourable seasons, or more so; it is but just that they should pay from the beginning, the tythes of their productions towards the magazines, which may be collected in the same way with the others, while the collectors will at all times be in condition to make a report

to the commissioners, and they to the Company, of the progress of cultivation in these new lands; that without loss of time, proper steps may be taken with such as fall short of their engagements, which will keep them always to their duty, from the apprehensions of being deprived of their possessions.

By these or some such measures, and by the protection of person and property, inhabitants will be attracted from all parts thither. Even the very lowest classes may be equal to acquisitions in these new lands; for, four or five pounds will procure a property of an hundred begas, and being accustomed to live upon a little, free also of rent during ten years; scarce any can be so poor, but during that space of time, they may find means in their own industry, to cultivate their ground, and to build on it a suitable residence to them and their families.

We see the wastes and forrests in North America, attract labourers to cultivate them from all parts of Europe, by prospects of property. How much more may it be expected that labourers will be attracted from all parts of Asia, when permanent property shall take place in the fertile plains of Bengal? In consequence, all these waste lands will infallibly find acquirers in a very few years, and in ten years more, will be fully cultivated, well peopled, and yielding reasonable rents for ever. Then, the Company will draw from them, a well established revenue to a far greater amount than need be mentioned; even many millions. For then the territorial rents of Bengal may be equal to those, either of France or Britain.

An observation has however been made in France, and is even become a maxim, that the changes of ministry and of measures, are so frequent there, that no great operations should be undertaken, unless they can be brought to perfection in less than ten years. But in this case, the Company being a Society which can never change, nor die out, more sensible maxims should be adopted; and though the directors change, yet prudent measures never should vary, and advantageous prospects should be steadily followed out, however distant the object. The Societies of Monks in foreign countries give strong examples of that kind; their plans are always well concerted and never changed, so that their affairs continually prosper.

CURRENCY and CIRCULATION.

IN order to support and carry on such steady measures as the Company may think proper to adopt, a fixed and permanent specie should without doubt be established near to the just intrinsic value, and never to vary. No commercial or cultivating country can prosper without it, and the bad effects of a different conduct in Bengal is too well known. Again, as Bengal produces no gold nor silver, very probably no such quantities of either now remain there, as may afford sufficient specie for all the transactions of a population so numerous, and a territory so extensive. Therefore a Bank, and a paper currency appears absolutely necessary, which may be easily established upon the advances the Company will without doubt draw from the lands, and will have an immediate effect in vivifying industry, agriculture, manufactories, and commerce of all kinds. These two objects have also been mentioned by Mr. Dow, and they are in fact the dictates of reason.

There can be no need to say, that banks, and circulation in paper are so evidently useful, that they have been adopted by all nations where property is secure. Even in France, the wisest and most prudent there, regret to this hour, that the good effects of the bank established by Mr. Law, were frustrated by the ill-timed rapacity and ambition of the Regent. And they continually lament that by the constitution and the unbounded power of ministers, a bank never can be safe in that country; while the very face of their fields in all the provinces, remarkably demonstrate the want of a sufficient circulation. So in Britain, without the immense circulation of paper, agriculture, manufactures, and trade; even also, the British arms had never reached the progress they now have made, and would still soon languish, providing paper currency were suppressed. For, perhaps all the specie now in Europe would scarce be sufficient without paper to answer and support the circulation necessary in all the transactions of Britain. For which reason the Company will surely establish a bank in Bengal, and the funds for it are in their power.

They will then have only to direct that their purchases of manufactures, with all other disbursements, be made in notes; at the same time ordering their revenues in all the provinces to be received in them preferable to specie:

and

and their currency would from that moment be established. All transactions would thereby be enlivened, and a lasting stop would be put to the many frauds in the different kinds of rupees.

Beside the great and general good effect of it, the Company would reap an immediate and particular one, by interest upon all the circulation. In France, where by want of paper, the circulation is all in specie; the interest on the whole is a real loss to that kingdom to about three millions sterling yearly, or more; most of which is saved to Britain by paper, and the great gains of the bank of England, and of all banks and bankers in Britain spring from no other source. All which the Company will enjoy unrivaled in Bengal, and in a greater degree by interest there being higher. Their gains also would grow daily by the growing prosperity of these provinces, which would be the infallible consequence.

The lands in particular would be a great fund of credit, and of circulating paper in their improvement. They would be good from the beginning to the value advanced on them, and soon for much more by the subsequent improvements. Also, that the solidity of their security may be well ascertained. A public register may be established in the chief town of every pergunnah, where every particular acquisition in that pergunnah may be registered, mentioning the extent, the money advanced on them and the progressive improvements.

Upon an opposite page to these, the sums may be marked which had been lent upon the faith of them: which will prevent any person from contracting on them above their value. Daily inconveniencies happen in France, by want of registers of that kind, and even in some counties in England.

Again, no truth can be more certain than that the activity, the industry, and, in a great measure, the ingenuity of every nation, is always in proportion to the mass of circulation in specie, and well established paper currency; if that is abundant, all is alive and in action; and in proportion that the mass is lessened, all becomes paralytic and languid.

There can be no doubt, that the having withdrawn vast sums in specie from the circulation in Bengal, without having supplied their place by any other object, is one of the great causes of the sudden decline of that kingdom;

and

and if the same unwise course shall still be continued, that country will soon be reduced so low, as to be little in condition to afford revenues from its industry as Norway, Lapland, or Siberia. Whereas, by introducing and supporting an abundant circulation, all kinds of improvements both in agriculture and manufactures, will be excited to the greatest lengths they can go; and these will yield revenues in proportion.

In France, although not much larger than Bengal, either in extent or in population, the circulating mass is above sixty millions of our money; yet is far from sufficient. If possible, it should be made as much in Bengal, at the lowest; or the want of it will be experienced very soon and very severely; and in fact, is so already.

MANUFACTORIES.

LANDS and agriculture are the subsistence of all ranks, and the source of all revenues. Their produce are the only real riches. Without their regular reproduction, all other riches can be of no value. Banks and bankers might shut up, or even might lye open. Their treasures can neither feed nor clothe. The rarest jewels would appear baubles of folly; high and low would be brought upon a level, and the world would soon be at an end.

These truths have made it often questioned, whether lands should not be directly charged with the whole taxes for the support of governments, as was originally the case. Marshal Vanban's well-known plan of the *dixieme royale*, or royal tythes, was long agitated in France, with these views. Plans of the like kind have of late been again brought upon the carpet in that kingdom, and were supported by very plausible, and even by well-founded reasonings; neither have reasonings of the same sort escaped, at different periods, the observations of economists of reputation in Britain. But, the great and growing expence of governments, fleets, and armies, have made these ideas appear chimerical, and their execution impracticable.

Therefore

Therefore, the speculative eyes of all nations were turned towards manufactories, as a secondary resource: whereof high duties and prohibitions, with customs and excises, to augment revenues, were the natural consequences.

But never were there so solid motives for promoting manufactories in any country, as in Bengal, where they have been carried on from very distant times, to so uncommon advantage, that they were the sole source of the immense riches, which that country has possessed during all ages: and may, henceforward, become so to the Company.

In consequence of the speculations on manufactories abovementioned, most kinds of them are now encouraged in all countries of Europe. The Dutch did so, from the moment they became sovereigns. The French have also done the same, from the time of their great Colbert's administration. And other nations more or less, and earlier or later, as circumstances and situations could admit. They were even in some manner driven to these measures in self-defence, to prevent their specie from being drained away: and may in general, be considered in most countries, as the means only to avoid loss, rather than to acquire gain. Yet, the manufactories of Britain have in particular suffered by these general precautions of oeconomy, which have by degrees so much lessened the demand for them all over Europe; that her great exports in that kind, are now chiefly to her own colonies.

But, the demands for Bengal manufactures can never lessen, in regard that their quality, is so peculiar to that country, that no nation on the globe can either equal or rival them. If matters are therefore prudently conducted, they may, in time, become as solid a staple in the hands of the company, as the spice islands are to the Dutch, or the valuable wines of France are to that kingdom, or the treasures of America, to Spain and Portugal.

Again, As these commodities of Bengal are by custom become necessary to all nations, the call for them must continually augment by the general growth of luxury, and can never fail. Therefore the Company may in full safety rely intirely upon them for their returns, to the utmost extent; and need never be under any necessity to draw specie from thence, nor ever should do so upon any consideration. For, by the growing demands, and the command of markets, they will find their returns in that way, much more profitable, more ex-

tenfive, and fully as lasting, as the above-mentioned staples can possibly be to their possessors. The augmenting quantities of these manufactures bought up and exported thence, will daily augment the prosperity of Bengal, by promoting an uninterrupted circulation among all classes. Exports in specie would ruin the people and country : but the larger the exports of their labours, the greater will be the growth of their industry and prosperity : while their lands and magazines will confirm their happiness.

Farther, manufactories in Europe, are found by experience, to carry with them several inconveniencies. All the hands employed in them, live generally by imprudence, and often by debauchery, at an expence equal to their daily gains, however great. And at death, their families become burthens upon the public. They even are so themselves in sickness, and in interruptions of trade, which have been often very severely felt in France, particularly during wars, when many thousands have been long fed in idleness, as the only means to prevent their desertion. And immense hospitals are supported expressly for them, in Lyons and other manufacturing towns.

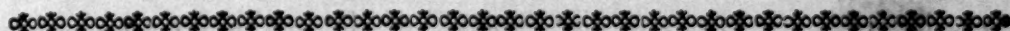
Likewise, in scarcities, and during high prices of provisions, manufacturers are always the first to complain, and to excite clamours and insurrections; whereof France has had many proofs, nor have these been wanting in Britain.

They are also far from being favourable to population. Their progeny cannot possibly prosper in crowded towns, and the few who can be reared up to maturity, become rather profligate than profitable subjects; insomuch, that populations of real value, have in all nations, and in all times, been found to spring much more from the plough, than from the loom.

But, favourably for Bengal, none of these inconveniences can possibly happen. For there, the two most important occupations for mankind, are so happily blended together, that the same hand which at one season governs the plough, at another guides the shuttle, in executing those exquisite textures, which are every where admired, but can no where be equalled. Endeavours in Europe, to connect agriculture and manufactures together, in the same persons and families, have always been found ineffectual, as they always will; and that desirable connection is absolutely peculiar to Bengal, where Mr. Orme observes,

serves, the delicate formation of the hand, is equally adapted to all kinds of operations, even the most difficult.

Surely, it is the highest degree of cruelty, to oppress a people, in many respects ; very valuable. Peaceable by disposition, docile and obedient by habit, patient and assiduous in labour, moderate in desires, frugal and temperate from motives of religion, are qualities which excite admiration, and merit the most favourable treatment: never can protection and comfortable establishments be more worthily applied, nor in favours of more deserving subjects; who by these only, will cordially and contentedly carry on improvements, both in culture and in manufactories, hand in hand to the highest perfections, which the most sanguine expectations of their masters can require, who, if they act their own part, may be assured their subjects will not fail in theirs.



C O N C L U S I O N.

THE several measures which have been proposed, may no doubt be very greatly improved. They are only intended as hints for reasonable operations, which are all very practicable, and will become still more profitable. If they can do good, in contributing to relieve these many millions of the human race from misery, the author's wishes will be fully compleated. As a friend of mankind he feels for their misfortunes, and cannot disengage himself from good wishes in their favours, nor resist some warmth in their cause. Neither can he doubt of being joined in so just endeavours, by the generous voice of Britain, remarkable for benevolence above all nations. Nor can that voice be more worthily exerted, than to assist in softening the sufferings of harmless fellow-subjects, whose useful labours may in time contribute to lighten their own. Blinded by prospects of spoil, the hearts of their oppressors have become hardened; and, to look on without emotion, would be to partake in their crimes. The most austere American-master treats his slaves with humanity, for his own interest. But the inhuman masters of these unfortunate Asiatics have

have unhappily hitherto found their avarice more immediately gratified, by sacrificing not only them, but even their country.

Yet luckily, it cannot still be doubted, that by some such measures, the face and affairs of these provinces, now languishing under oppressions, may soon be changed to great advantage, and the inhabitants made happy; who, then finding the good effects of the laws, and of the humane, benevolent manners of Britain, will with joy and gladness conform to them. Sensible also of the great advantages of property, however small, with fixed family residences, and the conveniencies of British furniture and way of living, they will without doubt relish them, and thereby open a new branch to the Company, of carrying thither British commodities, while they again will find sufficient returns for all, in the growing produce of their industry.

Thus the Company have it still intirely in their power to make Bengal become the most industrious, prosperous and happy nation that perhaps ever has existed; reaping in returns the applause of the world, the grateful feelings of their happy subjects, and an immense revenue. The doing of good is its own reward. But in this case it will also be gratified, by far greater gains, than there is any example in history. Justice and humanity are the dictates of reason, and the duty of all mankind. Yet here they will be rewarded by great riches, and by lasting reputation. These inducements are so singularly great, that to postpone is criminal.

The means of execution are likewise so far from being discouraging that they are both simple and easie; and to firm minds all difficulties disappear; whereas, hesitations in great objects, mark a want of fortitude, which is always faulty; and in this case may disappoint the end, in compleating by delays the absolute destruction of those valuable provinces and people, perhaps beyond recovery.

Therefore the Company needs only make application to parliament for authority to dispose of the lands in property, at the rates of their present rents, and to establish a bank upon the advances which will arise from thence, with a prudent plan for the management of both. A vast and solid revenue will be thereby for ever established; large funds will be procured directly, for facilitating all subsequent operations, and the objects are so very great, that they can well afford full

means of employing men of the most approved virtue, prudence, and abilities in their execution.

There can be no surprise, that the bill lately proposed met with difficulties. It might perhaps have answered particular and temporary views, but was no ways suited to the present pressing exigencies of Bengal. Whereas the bill here proposed, is so much for the interest of Britain, of Bengal, and of all concerned, that it will probably find no opposition. Candid, open, well-intended measures rarely fail of general approbation.

These two points seem to be the most urgent as well as the most important. All others, and even the saving those countries from absolute desolation, depend upon them. They therefore being thus fixed, will afford just grounds to expect that other judicious and necessary operations will naturally follow, and will thereby so much augment the public confidence in the Company's affairs, that their stock will not fail to advance greatly nearer to a par with those of the bank and other funds, in proportion to the dividends.

Hitherto, all sets of directors have affected to keep their deliberations and proceedings secret. But now the mask of mystery is removed; their matters are known to all Europe; nor can they any longer be concealed. The groppings indelusive darkness are at an end, and the public, with great grounds, appear determined to see with their own eyes.

For these reasons, it seems incumbent on the present directors, that they remove all doubts, and satisfy all concerned, by forming a well-digested plan of future proceedings, with that of a wise and steady form of government, and that of an independent and general administration of justice; declaring openly their firm resolutions to follow out their execution; which will not fail to have a most favourable influence on their affairs, both at home and abroad.

Yet, it will be far from being easy to fix and agree upon the wisest means of forming these most essential establishments; for the several best measures cannot probably occur to the mind of any one man, nor even to those of the whole Court of Directors. The case and questions are entirely new; ma-

ny peculiarities make them extremely difficult, and satisfactory solutions of them are of great importance; far greater even than deciding the differences both on the Danube and in Poland. We likewise daily see, even in matters much less complicated, that men of the greatest sagacity often differ as remarkably in opinions, as in figure or countenance; and the jealousies, animosities, prejudices, and different views of party and faction, are not the ready way to reconcile them on the present occasion; consequently the manner of thinking upon these quite uncommon subjects, cannot miss to be very various, and the right road very hard to find.

Something however must be done, and some plan of proceeding must be formed: yet, to precipitate matters would be far from being wise, and experience has given full proofs, that to go on in changing men without changing measures would be real folly; while, to trifle time in procrastination, is a reproachful breach of trust; it is an evident want of regard both for the proprietors and the nation, and a wantonly sporting with the lives, the interests, and the happiness of many millions.

It may therefore perhaps be prudent, in a case so singularly interesting and certainly the most intricate that ever has occurred, not to overlook a practice of the many societies and academies now established in Europe, which has been of great service to mankind, in bringing useful knowledge to light, and may be made so in this.

By publishing premiums to such as shall form and deliver, before a certain fixed day, which needs not be made very distant, the most judicious and practicable plans supported by the wisest reasonings upon all, or upon any one of the points in question, and upon such others as may be thought proper to propose. A well-qualified committee may then be appointed to examine and report the substance of the several plans to the Board of Directors; which very probably will have an excellent effect: For although it scarce can be supposed that any one of them will intirely answer the intention, yet by comparing together what may be found best in the whole, some reasonable judgement may be formed, many doubts and difficulties may be removed, much time may be saved, and numbers of dangerous experiments may be avoided.

Never

Never could any object better merit the most intelligent and wise opinions which can possibly be obtained; nor could any ever so well afford full means to reward them by premiums; neither could these ever be more prudently applied.

There are good grounds to be of opinion, that the numbers of first rate men in abilities, in genius, and in experience are greater in Britain alone, than in the whole world beside; and without all doubt the best qualified to form a judgment with regard to the points in question. All these have an undeniable right to give their sentiments upon subjects which so greatly concern the whole British empire, provided they incline to do so; and by the means here proposed they will be invited and prompted to offer them, which in all probability may do great good, and cannot possibly do harm.

Farther, all academical questions take their rise from the laudable and benevolent zeal of particulars, and of societies united together by the generous desire of doing good without any interested views; therefore great premiums cannot be afforded: while on the other hand, well-disposed men of letters and of knowledge are induced to exert their respective qualifications in answering them; from the like laudable motives and from a commendable emulation to acquire a well-deserved reputation, rather than from any allurements of premiums.

But in this case, any hesitations with regard to the extent of premiums, would be extremely ill-judged, and a very capital error. For they should be made so very considerable as not to fail in exciting the full exertion of the greatest abilities, and the highest degree of zeal, which can be in the power of the greatest men, of the clearest heads, of the soundest judgments, and of the best qualified pens.

We have seen, with a just indignation, robberies and rapines to the amount of millions, and millions of most serviceable subjects sacrificed, without the Company having been in any condition either to prevent or punish them; and as an effectual stop might be put in time coming to all such destructive depredations, by satisfactory solutions to these questions, which are in all appearance the only means to do so; a million or much more, would be most profitably employed in procuring them; while the Company, and all who wish well to mankind,

kind, would have great grounds to rejoice in a discovery so desirable. Yet, very probably far less, or even a very moderate expence, may answer the end; and ten or twelve thousand pounds, prudently applied, may have the wished for effect.

Yet as the just jealousy of the Company with regard to independency, has hitherto served all directors as a cover to conceal their transactions; it may possibly be alarmed by apprehensions of danger from publick questions and solutions. But the *programme* may easily be conceived in terms to guard against any risque of that kind; warning may be also thereby given, that the complete independency both in possessions and in privileges must continually be kept in view in conceiving the solutions.

As those solutions must likewise be delivered sealed up by their authors, they can only be opened by the committee, and their contents can be no further known to the public, than may appear prudent.

The great number of solutions may likewise be apprehended and may appear discouraging; but the undertakers of a task so very difficult, will be far less numerous than at first view may be expected; and notice may be given to make them concise.

The delicacy of the Directors may also be offended by publicly demanding council, when they themselves may at pleasure decide. But in that they do no more, than the greatest men in Europe do daily, by calling the wisest council, in matters much less intricate. While a conduct so laudable and so prudent, will do great honour to the Directors.

It must be confessed, that too much has been said upon this subject of premiums; yet perhaps some indulgence may be expected for having thought it necessary, in order to explain the necessity and utility, as well as the facility, and the safety in making use of them.

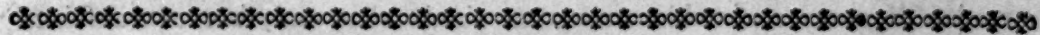
Upon the whole, a candid conduct of that kind, seems to be the only satisfactory proof the Directors can possibly give to the world, of their disapprobation and abhorrence of the former shocking enormities:
without

without some such step, it will be in vain for the leaders in Leadenhall-street, to pretend vindicating themselves from suspicions of connivance with the merciless measures of their representatives in Asia.

For, although the oppressive practices of those, are now exposed to light, yet that can no way justify their masters, unless they on their own part give demonstration of steady resolutions, to act henceforward openly, candidly and honourably toward their subjects, their constituents, and their country.

All these have a well-founded title to expect it at their hands, and even to claim it as an unquestionable right; while every hesitation or evasion on the part of the Directors, will be considered a testimony of their intentions to go on, in those interested dark designs, which have already too shamefully tarnished the humanity, dignity, and glory of Britain.

T H E E N D.



N O T A.

THE lasting prosperity of every country depends entirely upon the wisdom of the form of government, and the difficulties in establishing a wise form in any extensive country, are so very great, that ever since the beginning of the world, the government of Britain, is the only one which has approached to perfection; and even that has only been accomplished in a very slow progression, by the length of time, by the lights of experience, and by many concurring accidents.

These considerations have made some reflecting minds apprehensive, that a good government can never possibly be established in Bengal; "Where the difficulties," say they, "are so great, and many, that notwithstanding what ever endeavours the Company can make use of, the execution must surely fail, and these valuable provinces and people must sink into insignificance, and soon come to ruin; as was formerly the fate of some of the Roman provinces, which were abandoned, at a distance, to the direction of Generals, "Governors,

"Governors, and Prætors, whose rapacity robbed those provinces of their wealth and circulation, and thereby put an intire end to all industry."

The case, it is too true, has hitherto been precisely parallel in Bengal, or worse; and will surely continue so, provided no means are made use of to prevent it. But, if wise men were to be frightened by difficulties from using the means when necessary, the consequences would be very dangerous, in discouraging the most laudable endeavours, even when most wanted. Such ignoble maxims may possibly take place elsewhere, but surely never can in Britain.

Every little mind can see lions in the way, but the great both see and remove them. To foresee difficulties in establishing a right form of government in Bengal is within the reach of most men, but the wise can only solve and remove them, and the effectual performance will do great honour to the authors.

But that there is sufficient wisdom in Britain both to solve and remove them, neither can nor ought to admit of the least doubt. Therefore, the utmost exertion of every reasonable means to obtain that end, becomes absolutely necessary, and by perseverance will infallibly succeed.

Whereas, to be stunned into inaction by the greatest difficulties, which can possibly occur in an operation so greatly good, so essentially important, and which can fully afford every extent in expence, would not only be in the greatest degree unmanly, but very highly blameable.

Great minds surmount all obstructions, while the little sink under them. The swords of the Alexanders, and Cæsars, find their way through Gordian knots. And the firm perseverance of Ulysses always made good his object.

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